

Analysis. This situation is at the opposite extreme from the previous one in terms of the implicit rules of what can and cannot be discussed openly. In the previous incident, the teacher clearly considered it impertinent for students to acknowledge openly that they ever missed class or came in late for other than legitimate reasons, such as sickness or being detained by another teacher. In this situation, the teacher discusses such familiar student behavior as cutting openly with her students. It is probable that both teachers are trying to maximize control over their classes by these very different strategies. In the former case, the art teacher makes it clear that he expects rules to be followed strictly and absolutely, or he will not allow an offender to remain in his room. In the latter case, the health teacher seems to be letting the students know that they can't put anything over on her by politely bargaining one minute and abusing the spirit of the bargain the next. By acknowledging a common pattern of behavior, she is letting them know that she is wise to them. By refusing to acknowledge such behavior, the art teacher is also in a sense letting his students know that he is wise to them. Notice the way in which he hammers away at their excuses. The major difference between these two teachers is really as to at which point the punitive sanctions available to them should be invoked. The art teacher invokes them immediately. The health teacher lets the threat of daily quizzes hang over her class.

In the previous two incidents, we have seen two extremes of teachers' manipulation of punitive sanctions in their strategies for controlling their classes. The resolution of conflicting sets of norms in the classroom does not always depend on or reach the point of the invocation of punitive sanctions, however. In the following incidents, we will examine other

Incident #51. Characters: Mrs. Taylor, an Accounting teacher and the head of the Accounting Department; students in her class; our field-worker. As mentioned earlier, not all problems for teachers are those of disruption. Student apathy is just as much of a problem, given the fact that the instructional model set out in the DLP expects student participation as well as teacher control. The following incident is an example in which students do not really compete with the teacher for control of the agenda but instead sit back almost motionless except to respond to the teacher's cues.

I went down to the fourth floor and asked a teacher if I could sit in on her class. The teacher turned out to be Mrs. Taylor, the head of the accounting department. She said, "I have a big lesson today. I'll discuss with you later what you see." I went and sat in the back of the class which was a second term accounting class.

Mrs. Taylor is a small middle-aged woman with a very formal teaching style. The students in this classroom were as follows: There were three black boys, 5 black girls, 7 Chinese girls, 4 white girls, 2 Spanish girls, 2 Spanish boys. One of the white girl's names was Fatima, so I assume she was of middle eastern background.

The first thing that the teacher said to the class was, "We start a new marking period today, and there's going to be a new rule. We talked about it before, but starting today, you have to turn in your homework on time." She said, "Previously you've been turning in your statements

up to two weeks late. From now on a late statement is going to be penalized unless, and what's the exception?" she asked the class. Two or three girls said in unison, "Absence." The teacher said, "That's right, absence." She then told them that they would still have until tomorrow to get in any late assignments which they still had out. She then started writing the lesson and began asking questions about the balance sheet which had been written on the side board. When she would ask a question, Mrs. Taylor would press her fingertips together and look around and eventually call on one of the raised hands in the room. The first answer was from a black boy over in the left back corner of the room. The next two questions were answered by two black girls consecutively. Then another black girl raised her hand to answer. The teacher looked at her and said, "You're out three days. You don't know."

The classroom was extremely quiet throughout the period with a minimum of interaction among students. The teacher answered one Chinese girl's hand saying, "Yes, Anna?" The girl answered and the teacher said, "I heard you, dear, but the rest of the class did not." Then the girl who had been out for three days answered a question out loud and the teacher nodded. The lesson went on in this way, the teacher asking a number of questions about the accounting sheet on the board. In response to an answer given by a black boy, she asked a Chinese girl, "Do you agree with him?" The girl said, "No." The teacher said, "Why not? Tell him." The girl did so. To one of the teacher's questions there was a chorus of answers. The teacher said, "There's a chorus here. Let's not make this a singing class."

After working out the problems for a while, she turned around and faced the class in a very serious way and said, "All right, now I want all pens and pencils down." She raised her finger and said, "I am very strong and dictatorial about this." She gave a half a glance back in my direction. She might have been saying that for my benefit. She said, "Why do I want you to put your pens down?" A black girl in a yellow shirt sitting in front of me said, "So we don't write it in our ledgers before in our journals." The teacher nodded her approval. They discussed a point to be put in the chart on the board. The teacher then had one girl write some entries on the board. The class was perfectly quiet during this time. The teacher started walking around the room picking up the extra pieces of graph paper from the unoccupied desk tops.

Then the teacher made a dictation to the students. She said, "As part of your notes, ladies and gentlemen, (all the students began shuffling their notebooks) I'll dictate." She dictated the accounting principles and said, "Shall I repeat?" There was little response. She said, "Raise your hands." No one raised his hand. She said "OK."

Toward the end of the period, someone in the front of the room made a crack of some kind which I didn't hear. The teacher made a fist and said "I'll haul off, I swear." The kid flinched and there was the first murmur of laughter that had been in the class all period. The teacher laughed as well.

The bell sounded for the end of the period. I went up to talk to Mrs. Taylor as the students were filing out. She asked me what study I was with. I told her and she said, "Well, how is your observation in this

classroom going to tell you anything about leadership and communication?" I told her that we were not conducting a leadership and communication survey per se, that I was more interested in the interactions of people. She said, "It's very hard to get the kids to interact. Did you notice my technique?" I said, "You mean the way you would ask one kid to tell the answer to another kid?" She said, "Yes."

Analysis. In some of the previous incidents, the problem of the teacher has been to put some curb on the amount of interaction among students. In this case, the teacher worries that the students do not interact enough and tries to encourage interaction. When she says that it is hard to get students to interact, we may assume that she does not really think that they never interact. What she means is that they do not spontaneously interact within the context of the formal lesson. We observed many classes in Sheridan in which students exhibited behavior similar to that seen in this incident. Almost invariably, however, rapid interaction among students begins as soon as the bell rings or as soon as they leave the classroom and enter the hallway. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that students come to this school in many cases expressly in order to interact with other people. The large number of students who come to school every day and cut classes is a statistically significant testament to this fact.

We have seen that the collective process by which the rules governing behavior in any individual classroom are arrived at (1) is bounded by certain limits and (2) depends upon the totality of social constraints and group norms present in that classroom. We have made many observations in the course of this unit on the different kinds of situations that result from the varying kinds of fit between educational expertise and hierarchical authority in a school organization. We have hypothesized that those in positions of authority in school organizations are constrained by their roles to justify those positions in terms of educational expertise. We have also hypothesized that even students who can claim educational expertise can manipulate that claim in order to gain certain privileges in the organization, for example the student in Sheffield who has such an excellent reputation that he can go almost anywhere he wants during the school day. The next two incidents focus on this question of the manipulation of educational expertise in the classroom, and the effects of this manipulation on the kinds of rule negotiations we have been discussing.

Thus far in these units, we have tried to defer questions about the meaning of "education" in these schools in order not to cloud our perceptions of the forms and processes of social organization in these schools. For example, the point of including the Green Valley Incident #2, in which the fieldworker describes how some students bring their personal problems to her, is not to advance the value judgment that "teachers should be surrogate parents" but to show how the rules determining what is and is not talked about in the classroom can have an effect on the formation of groups and the separation of one group from another, an overall process to which we refer as sorting behavior.

The next two incidents focus on the part the goal of "education" (the formal goal of the school organization) plays in the processes of negotiation and mediation in the classroom. Not only teachers but also students in the classroom try and sometimes succeed in manipulating the ideal of "education" in order to influence the behavior of others in the classroom.

Incident #52. Characters: Ben Malka, business ed. teacher, a young man, neatly dressed, with a very young face; Janet, a student; other students in his accounting class.

When the tone sounded, we moved onto Janet's sixth period which is also taught by Ben Malka, the electronic data processing teacher. As Janet was sitting down in her seat there was a black girl leaving the class who yelled something out to her. Janet replied, "You better watch yourself, Miss Fast Ass. The girl said something in reply and left. A white boy came in the room and sat down in the row next to us. He was carrying a transistor radio which was playing at a low volume. A Chinese boy came in the room who had rather a fancy shag haircut and sunglasses on and who was rather sensitive and good looking. He was greeted by several wolf whistles as he sat down.

The teacher began the class by saying, "Ok, class, take out your homework." The students took out their accounting books. Not all of them had them. The others opened to a specific problem which they were going to work on during the period. A tall black boy wearing glasses and afro who was also wearing a blue wool jacket with his name Darby sewn onto it raised his hand and said, "Mr. Malka, may I please have a pass?" Then he added, "This time I'll ask politely, you should give it to me," in a rather defiant tone of voice. He got a pass and left the room. While this transaction was going on, another boy started making comments: "Mr. Malka, well, I'm glad you finally got some new shoes." The teacher was wearing a high heeled pair of zip boots which did look new. Meanwhile the boy with

the transistor radio had started talking to me a little bit. He started looking at my notebook and told me, "You should make the teacher look good. This is a good class here, but there are certain people who disrupt it." A black girl sitting in the front of the class had taken a brush out of her purse and was combing her hair vigorously as the class began. The boy who had left with the pass returned in a few minutes.

The makeup of this accounting class was as follows: There were three black girls, two black boys, six Spanish boys, two Spanish girls, who white boys, and two Chinese boys.

The black girl who had been combing her hair was sitting in the left front seat. She moved over one row to share a desk with a Spanish girl next to her. The two were looking on at the same book. Most of this class period was spent in working out an accounting problem. The teacher put a balance sheet on the board and they gradually filled in various credits and debits in the appropriate columns. Several of the boys in the room seemed to be quite involved in working out the problems. In particular, there was one black boy sitting in the back part of the room and one white boy sitting one row over and one seat in front of him who contributed many of the answers to the problems. The class was also quite noisy and there was a great deal of horseplay including dozens of spitballs at various times. The two boys giving most of the answers were also throwing spitballs.

Mr. Malka's reprimands in this class were short and casual. He did not reprimand every activity which could have merited it but managed to speak up at regular intervals. When they came to certain entries that

were needed on the board, the black girl who was sharing a desk with the Spanish girl in the front of the room raised her hand and the boy from the back of the room said, "She always goes for the easy questions." Several spitballs went aloft. The girl seemed a little bit self-conscious to be answering questions, but she managed to stumble through and produce the right answer. The black boy, Darby, on one of his turns to answer started saying in a very loud voice, "You credit, you debit, no, you credit, no you debit," until the class was convulsed in laughter. Darby then said, "Teacher, you know I don't listen," and slumped back into his desk. The eventual answer to the question that Darby had failed to answer was that no entry was required. The students immediately began accusing the teacher of having tried to trick them. The white boy who participated in a lot of the problems said, "Teacher, we never ran across a thing like this before." Then the black boy who had made a comment about the teacher's suit, said, as the teacher had his back turned to write something on the board, "Really that is a nice suit, Mr. Malka," in a slightly sarcastic tone of voice.

At the end of the class period, Mr. Malka came over to me and started telling me that this was really not a typical accounting class and that they were totally impossible. He told me that a few people set the level of noise in the class and that it was impossible to undercut them. I pointed out that the students participated in the problem a lot. He said that his major problem was that the black boy in the back of the class was both the smartest kid in the class and the most disruptive and that that made his task even more difficult.

Analysis. Many of the dynamics of this situation are similar to earlier classrooms that we have analyzed. There are at least two clearly discernible sets of norms operating here, one represented by the formal lesson, the other by the playing and spitball throwing of some of the boys. The interesting aspect of this incident is that some of the students are able to participate in both sets of norms simultaneously. By participating in the lesson, they lay a claim to educational expertise. That claim in turn undercuts the teacher's claim on their exclusive attention which is based on the assumption that they should obey him so that he can teach them. Unfortunately for him, he is teaching them even when they don't obey him.

Incident #53. Characters: Mr. Morris, a history teacher. Students in his American History class.

When the period was over and the tone sounded, I walked up to the third floor to a history class. I introduced myself to a young teacher, Mr. Morris. He told me his class was American History I and I took a place in the back of it. This class subsequently turned out to be the best classroom situation I have so far observed at Seward. As the period began, the teacher was handing out papers and there was some horsing around that went on for several minutes. One student inquired about marks and the teacher said that he didn't have them yet, that he would tell them next week. They groaned and he told them not to worry, that this class so far had been doing very well.

He then announced the lesson for the day to be on the Jeffersonian period of American history and the Louisiana Purchase. Present in this class were one Spanish boy, six black boys, five Chinese boys, three white boys, one white girl, and one Chinese girl.

Mr. Morris started the period by passing homework papers back around the room and speaking briefly to people as they received their papers. The white boy in the back of the room sitting next to me was reading the racing form opened to the pages marked, "Tomorrow's Trots-Yonkers," during the first part of the period.

The lesson for the day, as I've said, was on the Jeffersonian period in American history. The teacher began asking questions of the students in typical fashion and I was surprised that most of them seemed to have done their reading for the period. They even volunteered comments

and questions. Mr. Morris made a diagram on the board presenting the differences in Thomas Jefferson's political philosophy and in his actual policies. While he was putting this diagram on the board, I saw the two Chinese boys in the left back part of the room interacting. Mr. Morris is a young teacher with a beard. On this day he was wearing a V-neck sweater with a tie. He speaks with a New York accent saying "dis, dat, dese and dose," instead of "this, that, these, and those." One of his teaching methods is to bear down on definitions of words. He asked people what various words in the history lesson meant and then at one point embarked on a long search for a definition of the word chauvinism. He discussed it both in its older political sense and in its newer sense of male chauvinist and tried to elicit comments and opinions from the students. There was one white boy sitting in the front row who was most vocal in his responses during the class. Many times when the teacher was looking for a response from the class, this boy would simply make up something or give some wild answer. In other words, he was putting the teacher on somewhat, but the teacher took it in good humor and seemed to approve of the fact that the boy was responding even though the boy did not always do it seriously.

At one point, they came across the name of Montezuma and Mr. Morris asked who in the class remembered Montezuma from last year's world history. A black girl sitting in the third seat back on the left row raised her hand excitedly and gradually pieced together the Montezuma story remembering it bit by bit. Most of the students in the class seemed to be taking notes, copying down the things that were written on the board and so on. There

were two black boys sitting in the left row of the room who seemed particularly cool and detached. They seemed somewhat aloof from the rest of the class. Both of them had similar looking Afros. One of them wore tinted glasses. While many of the students did volunteer responses, these two boys seemed to hold themselves aloof and at one point, one of them put his head down on the desk as if to go to sleep. But both of them snapped to attention when the teacher mentioned a Haitian black revolutionary who had lived during the Jeffersonian period and suggested that if any students were interested in black nationalism they might check out this early Haitian nationalist, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

The teacher seemed to have his students impressed with the teacher's own knowledge of history. One of his techniques was to lead the class up to a certain piece of information and withhold it for just a moment until he had their attention and then convey the information in an offhand way as if of course they should know that.

During the last part of the class, he was talking about the Lewis and Clarke expedition and the fact that every member of the expedition kept diaries so that Lewis and Clarke's escapades could be studied as a very personal kind of history which interested him a great deal.

When I went up to talk to him after the class, he told me that in fact this was his best class in the school and that they would all probably get good grades. He thought it ironic that at the first of the period some of them had seemed concerned about their grades for the upcoming marking period.

Analysis. There are at least two kinds of manipulation of educational expertise to be noticed in this class. The first is the quite successful

manipulation by the teacher of his own knowledge of the subject matter. His style of posing provocative questions, letting them hang, and then giving the answer in an offhand manner, as if anyone should know that, was visibly effective in holding the students' attention. He even has a visible effect on the studied cool and detachment of the two black boys on one side of the room. Some rule seems to be operating which forbids these two boys from speaking unless spoken to (at which times they had the correct answers, by the way. They too had done their reading). In this example, as a result of whatever combination of circumstances, the educational expertise of the teacher is definitely operating as an effective social control in this classroom. His norms predominate almost completely.

The second kind of manipulation of educational expertise to be noticed here is that practiced by the boy who answers questions, even when he doesn't know the answer. By this technique, he is able to talk and participate in interactions inside of the classroom (rather than repressing his desire to socialize until he hits the hall). He is not showing himself an "expert" exactly, but the point is that he knows that the teacher will let him talk if the conversation is vaguely connected to the topic of the lesson. We observed several similar pieces of behavior in this school. It seems to be a student strategy to subvert the lesson to their own social advantage. It is the counterpart of the strategy of the teacher, Margaret Rossini, who tries to subvert the interactions of the students in her English class for instructional advantage.

We have now seen many of the characteristics and results of sorting behavior in Sheridan High School. We have seen how groups are formed around the social facts of age, ethnicity, and hierarchical position, and how these groups cooperate and struggle in the classroom. We have also gone beyond the description of sorting to examine some of the processes of mediation and negotiation which operate to allow members of these different groups to cooperate (albeit with varying amounts of stress). Finally, we have seen how the processes of social control and resistance to that control can result in cooperation in pursuit of the common goal of "education," even if the meaning of that goal is constantly under manipulation by various actors in pursuit of their own individual goals, such as control of the space in which they live.

If there is one common discovery we made in all three schools that we studied, it is that people in these schools all seem to be struggling to gain or maintain some control of their space, to establish some domain of autonomy for themselves in their schools. Unfortunately, there seems to be a limited amount of space in these schools, so that individuals and groups are often struggling over space. The last two incidents suggest to us that when people cooperate in learning related activities, that is, when the formal goal of the school takes on some common meaning for the various classes of actors, then the amount of space available to everyone seems to expand. The examination and analysis of the relationships between the struggle for territory and its effects on learning would seem to us to be of paramount importance for any practicing administrator.